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AUTHOR Mundorf, Nancy K.
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ABSTRACT

This year-long study explored toddler separation distress behaviors in a developmentally appropriate classroom that used a gradual entry process, including a home visit. Four toddlers were selected for study: two had overt separation distress behaviors at the beginning of the year, and two did not exhibit overt distress. The children were videotaped at the beginning of the year and throughout the year. Anecdotal records were kept, and parents were surveyed and informally interviewed whenever there was an incidence of separation distress behavior. The children exhibited individual differences in the intensity, frequency, and duration of separation distress behaviors. Some separation behavior seemed to be low-key and easy to miss. Minor events influenced one child's separation distress while more unusual family events seemed to have little influence on another child's behaviors. The results suggested that the entry process and caregiver responses to the child's behavior lessened the frequency, intensity, and duration of some separation distress. (A copy of the parent interview questionnaire and a list of observational references are appended. Contains 44 references.) (Author/AA)

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Toddler Distress at Separation

Nancy K. Mundorf

Residency Project

University of Memphis

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Abstract

Research findings from a year long study of toddler separation distress behaviors in a developmentally appropriate classroom setting using a gradual entry process which included a home visit are presented. Four toddlers were selected for study; two who had overt separation distress behaviors at the beginning of the year, and two who did not exhibit overt distress. The children were videotaped at the beginning of the year and throughout the year. Anecdotal records were kept and parents were informally interviewed whenever there was an incidence of a separation distress behavior.

The children exhibited individual differences in the intensity, frequency and duration of separation distress behaviors. Some separation behavior seems to be low-keyed and easy to miss. Minor events seemed to influence one child's separation distress, while more unusual family events seemed to have little influence on another child's behaviors.

Implications for educators and toddler program staff are presented as well as areas of research needed.

Toddler Distress at Separation

As a classroom toddler teacher I adopted an entrance process for toddlers and their families (Mundorf, 1994) to alleviate some of the separation distress. However, some children continued to exhibit separation distress behaviors at the beginning of the year. In addition, I observed separation distress behaviors during the year in children who seemed to have secure attachment patterns. Although many of these separation incidents seemed to be unpredictable, during discussions with family and with further analysis, a few patterns seemed to emerge. In looking at the research, I found no studies of separation distress behaviors in a naturalistic quality child care setting over a full school year and found unclear patterns and inconsistencies in results when a number of variables were studied (Rosen & Rothbaum, 1993).

Separation distress is common when a child, especially a toddler (defined as 12-36 months), first enters an early childhood program. There is an impressive body of research on toddler separation anxiety with many studies focusing on maternal attachment using the Strange Situation Procedure (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), pre-separation behaviors (Adams & Passman, 1981; Lollis, 1990), maternal separation anxiety (Hock, McBride, & Gnezda, 1989), parent attitudes and behaviors (Jorde, 1984; Lollis, 1990), child's temperament (Fish & Belsky, 1991), and the effects of a quality program and staff (Belsky & Braungart, 1991). The research emphasizes either the quality of attachment or individual variables and many studies rely on the Strange Situation Procedure which is much different than attending a developmentally appropriate early childhood program on a regular basis with the same caregivers and peers. Articles and guidelines for educators and parents with tips on how to ease the transition (Bailey, 1988; Balaban, 1985; Jervis,1984; Wenig, 1994; Wittmer, 1992) have proliferated as the number of toddlers attending child care centers has increased.

However, I concluded as did Emde in Greenberg, Cicchetti & Cummings (1990), that there is a need for "more naturalistic and story-based situations" (p.x.) and that "a family systems approach for attachment research may be on the horizon" (p.xi). Rosen and Rothbaum (1993), and Levitt, Guacci, & Coffman (1993) see a need for research which focuses on the broader context of the child's social experience and includes the effects of parental caregiving, caregivers, child characteristics and family/situational factors. The following study was developed to address the question: how does the interplay of the child's developmental level, temperament, current family dynamics and interactions with the toddler affect separation in a familiar high quality child care setting over a school year?

Methodology

A case study research strategy was selected to examine contemporary events (separation distress behaviors) within a naturalistic setting (toddler classroom) affecting the "how" and "why" research question (Yin,1989). Multiple cases reflecting the extremes of separation behavior within the classroom during the first month were selected for study. Multiple sources of evidence were used for data collection and cross-case analysis.

Setting

This study took place in a NAEYC (National Association for the Education of Young Children) accredited toddler classroom in a midsouthern university laboratory school during one school year with the researcher serving as an observer, participant or teacher observer, and interviewer. Data collection occurred from August 1994 through May 1995 using multiple methods (audiotaped parent interview, anecdotal records, maternal questionnaire and videotaping of the class) as recommended by Yin (1989) to increase construct validity.

The toddler classroom, which operated from 8:30 a.m. to 3:15 p.m. during the academic year, had twelve children aged fifteen months to thirty months. Five of the children attended daily and seven attended either Monday, Wednesday, Friday or Tuesday,

Thursday. The researcher (MsN) served as lead teacher with two or three graduate students (MsS, MsA, MsJ, MsM, MsSz) assisting half-day in the classroom.

Entry process

A school entry process protocol (Mundorf, 1994) was followed which included a home visit by the teacher and a graduate student. Each child was photographed with the family members and caregivers who were at home. These photographs were put in a plastic key ring and kept in the classroom. At the home visit, an informal audiotaped interview (nmi8.94, p.50) consisting of pre-designed questions (appendix A) concerning their child and child care was conducted with each parent. This tape was transcribed within twenty-four hours. A gradual entry into the classroom concluded the process. The children came in small groups for one and one-half hours with the parent remaining followed by a half-day session for all the children with the parents staying as needed. During the second week of school, some parents stayed a few minutes and some longer, depending on the child and parent behaviors. The lead teacher and staff helped the parent decide when to leave.

Data collection

The entry of all eighteen children was videotaped for the first four weeks by a graduate student. A classroom ceiling mounted camera with remote control equipment outside the classroom was used to lessen the intrusiveness. Additional videotaping of the class from outside the classroom was conducted in December 1994, February 1995 and May 1995 by a graduate student and the researcher to observe the children at random intervals. After one of the subjects spent two months in Taiwan, his return was videotaped. Anecdotal records were kept in the classroom anecdotal record book by the researcher and graduate students. The number of anecdotal entries for the children ranged from 11 to 29. When a separation distress incident occurred during the year, the researcher held an informal conversation with the family to gain insight into family dynamics or possible causes. Anecdotal notes were transferred to computer files for parent conferences.

The Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale (Hock et al., 1989) was administered by the researcher and a graduate student to all toddler class mothers during the October parent conference to identify the mother's feelings about the separation. The items relate to mother's expression of feelings about separation including sadness and worry. Guilt, a desire for physical closeness and concerns about employment-related separation are additional content areas. The original scale was developed and used with mothers of infants. However, since no similar scale for use with toddlers was found, the MSAS was used to look at the possible influence of the mother's feelings on the child's separation behaviors. The results were coded by a graduate student following the protocol outlined by the author. There were two subscales. The first subscale was used to reflect the aspects of maternal anxiety and guilt resulting from leaving or in anticipation of leaving her child. A mother with a high subscore indicated apprehension about leaving her child and the feeling that the child is better off with her. A low subscore on subscale one indicated little concern about spending time away from her child. The second subscale assessed the mother's perception of the child's reaction to the separation. Mothers who scored low in this section believed the child will be comfortable during the separation. Mothers with a high score found these separations stressful.

The videotapes (20 hours of raw data) were viewed by the researcher for overall impressions. The video tapes were further reviewed to follow each of the four selected children and to create a detailed chronological log, using the film counter, according to recommendations by Collier and Collier (1986). Instead of coding by discrete categories, a chronological record of the child's actions, interactions, behaviors, and periods of quiet was developed to give an overall picture of the child's experiences. "Ideally, most analysis should include team efforts. Only with teams can we exploit a key value of visual records: the ability for many people to examine and discuss precisely the same slice of reality. Team analysis is taken further when individuals participate in analysis of records of their own

activities" (Collier & Collier, 1986, p.194). This was a limitation for this study, because the researcher relocated to China and was unable to analyze the data with peers.

Videotaping is useful according to Collier & Collier (1986) because "the camera can be moved to record a clearer view or can be turned and aimed at unanticipated events or subjects. The chief danger in selective shooting is unintended cutting across the flow of events. This can be controlled by careful design of the recording process so that categories of subject matter are recorded, whether or not they appear to be significant at the time" (p.148). An early childhood graduate student who was familiar with the study videotaped most of the overt separation distress behaviors. Since she was not always available, at times the unattended camera recorded quiet behaviors. This can be viewed as both a limitation and a strength because upon analysis, these quiet behaviors took on significance. Validity was increased since some events were videotaped and also recorded as anecdotal entries.

Separation and attachment definitions

Separation anxiety is defined by Hartman (1989) as "an attachment behavior that communicates children's distress and need for reunion with the parents" (p.2). Separation distress behaviors include protest, despair or detachment (Bowlby, 1982). Attachment behavior has been defined by Bowlby (1982) as "seeking and maintaining proximity to another individual" (p.195). Parent-child attachment according to Ainsworth (1978) is the quality of trust and the affectional bond that forms between the parent and the child. While much of the literature on separation focuses on the attachment quality and attachment behaviors, this study assumed that even with normal attachment, multiple factors can influence a child's separation behavior. Since the focus of this study was on separation distress behaviors rather than attachment, there was no formalized assessment of an attachment category for the children . According to Bowlby (1973) "observation of healthy children from thoroughly satisfactory homes, who are separated from mother for one of

many different reasons, show that, whatever contribution other variables may make, when a young child is in a strange place with strange people and with mother absent, protest, despair, and detachment still occur" (p.16).

Subjects

Since it was not feasible to follow eighteen children's separation behavior on a daily basis over a school year, four children were selected to represent the extremes of separation behavior. Two children who experienced overt separation distress behavior at school entry, and two who did not were followed during the school year. All four children selected for the study seemed to be securely attached based on observations of parent-child interactions on home visits and family data. Although the subjects were selected primarily according to their observed separation pattern during the first two weeks, all four were attending this child care center for the first time and were from two-parent families.

A short description of each subject follows. Heidi, an African-American female, who had two older brothers in other classes at the school and two sisters in elementary school, attended five days a week. Heidi, who was 19.5 months when she entered, had not previously attended an early childhood program. Rick, a white male whose family had moved to the area just a week before school began, attended three days a week. Rick, who was 28 months, had an older brother starting kindergarten and an elementary school sister. He had attended a half day early childhood program the previous year. Joe, a Chinese male who spoke no English and whose older brother was in another class, attended three days a week. Joe, who was 28 months old, had lived in the United States since his birth but had not attended any early childhood program. Although Mandarin was the home language, the other family members spoke English as a second language. Marci, a white female with a 16 year old sibling, attended two days a week. Marci was 24 months old and her mother was five months pregnant when school began. Marci's parents both work and Marci had previously been in family child care.

Case studies, which follow later in this paper, describing each child's behaviors and the parent-child interactions at separation were used to identify patterns in the separation process. Patterns and discrepancies between the cases were analyzed according to the following theoretical perspectives.

Theoretical perspectives

Separation studies have rarely focused on toddlers and the relationships in their world. As previously stated, separation theories have been based on the mother-child attachment and on the development of stranger-anxiety. Today's toddlers are forced to interact at a younger age with more people and in a wider environment than ever before. Additional theories are needed to analyze the unpredictable and diverse separation behaviors toddlers display. The following are relevant to this study of toddler separation in a familiar child care setting.

General systems and family systems theory

L. von Bertalanfy cited by Marvin and Stewart (Greenberg et al. 1990) argued as early as 1968 "that to understand scientifically any phenomenon, one needs to understand not only the elements of that phenomenon in isolation from one another but, more important, their *interrelations*" (p.53). They continue, "moreover, we need not merely look for single, reciprocal cause and effect but should consider multiple systemic causes and effects of interaction. Once these multiple causes and effects are identified, complex recurrent *patterns* of interaction can be described" (p.67). Unusual family/situational factors were shared by the parents following many of the toddler's separation distress episodes.

According to family systems theory (Marvin & Stewart, 1990), families compensate and adapt to temporary changes or common crises using self regulation. They self organize to more lasting changes either to their environment or within the family structure. The implication in family systems theory is that when the family is going through a crisis, a normal "crisis of transition" will take place for the whole family which includes

the child. "It is likely that during these transitions the attachment relationship between child and mother will suffer a loss of equilibrium or homeostasis and be characterized by a coincidental increase in conflict and decrease in security" (Marvin & Stewart, 1990, p.78). During this period of crisis family members may all invoke more unfamiliar and less adaptive patterns of interaction. After this temporary period, the family usually returns to security and relative homeostasis and the child's behavior normalizes until the next crisis. This would account for the unpredictability of a child's separation distress and reoccurrence during the school year.

Another factor in this crisis of transition and return to relative homeostasis according to Marvin and Stewart (1990) is the importance of the learning function for the child and family of new strategies for coping and facing future crises. Since Rick attended school previously and Marci had been away from home in family child care, it is probable that they learned some strategies for coping with the separation. However, when their mothers had health problems with pregnancies, neither had any previous experience. Feeling frightened and/or stressed, they sought close proximity and exhibited characteristic separation distress in accordance with Rutter's (1981) findings cited in Jorde (1984). Joe had limited experience away from his mother and few opportunities to learn coping strategies.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Fogel, 1991) also provides a perspective for discussing the complex separation behaviors observed. His theory relates to the interconnectedness between the child, the family, the school, and all the environments which affect them directly or indirectly. When grandparents visit, the parent operates in both a parent mode with their child and a child mode with their parent. This creates an different atmosphere which can affect the child's feelings of security. Barth (1993) describes the influences between the family and school as bi-directional. Social network theory described by Levitt, Guacci and Coffman (1993) accounts for direct and indirect

effects on an infant's development by network members which may include parents, siblings, caregivers, friends and other family. These ecological systems theories may account for possible distress by Joe when his sibling was sick or when MsN was out of the room and out of town.

Social referencing

According to Fogel (1991) "social referencing occurs when infants facing an uncertain situation"(p.290) use their "perception of other persons' interpretations of the situation to form {their} own understanding of that situation" (Feinman & Lewis, 1983). Newer studies based on works cited in Cicchette, Cummings, Greenberg and Marvin (1990) in the areas of cognition and language have demonstrated that "very young normal and atypical children do exhibit some ability to infer the precepts, thought processes, and emotions of others" (p.5). In order to activate social referencing, an infant must be interested in and receptive to *cues* that provide interpretative messages about the situation (Feinman & Lewis, 1983). Therefore, with an increase in a child's perceptual range, and an ability to understand events and cues in the world around him, separation behaviors change with the circumstances (Bowlby, 1982). Joe and Heidi seemed to be quite interested in the environment and looked up when someone entered the classroom or when there was a commotion. Joe's mother also felt ambivalent about sending Joe to school from comments made in her interview. She showed her anxiety after they returned from Taiwan by calling her husband after he dropped Joe off at school to check on Joe (JA2, p.7). There is a possibility that Joe was picking up clues from his mother through social referencing. Rick, on the other hand, seemed less receptive to environmental clues. This is another possibility for Rick's lack of distress behaviors when the family seemed to have a crisis. Marci's behaviors varied from being interested in events around her and ignoring them when she was involved in play. Most of Marci's separation distress episodes occurred when family events seemed to directly affect her.

Bowlby (1982) proposed that a function of attachment behaviors was protection from predators, and that there are "natural clues of danger" (Bowlby, 1973) which are culturally and individually learned. Elkind, in an interview with Scherer (1996), recently stated that "as society has changed, we can no longer protect children in the way we once did" and that as he travels he sees "stress symptoms of kids who are expected to be more competent in handling all sorts of experiences than they really are" (p.7). Today's stress related to "increasingly complex styles of adaptation to major life events" (Kaplan, 1973, p.25) could be considered a modern day predator as even adults struggle with doubt and confusion. Kaplan continues: "whenever the challenges of separateness become too great we all long to bring back the primary bliss of oneness" (p.31).

This attempt to maintain emotional equilibrium by refocusing on an attachment figure seems to occur throughout the lifespan. Although the manifestations vary, as with children, observations of adult separation behaviors at any airport suggest that crying, quiet despair, unfocused and scattered bursts of activity (Kaplan, 1973, p.190) are prevalent throughout life.

Control theory of attachment behavior

As the child's cognitive and behavioral systems develop, Bowlby (1982) believes that proximity to mother becomes a set-goal. This control system has sensors to monitor and appraise events which signal "potential danger or stress (internal or external), and those concerning the whereabouts and accessibility of the attachment figure"(p.373). Although many conditions can activate separation behavior, the simplest seems to be distance from mother which can be compounded by elapsed time (Bowlby, 1982). This has been seen in studies where children who are occupied continue to check on their mother periodically. This "yo-yo" effect was seen during separation for all the children in the study. Even after the mother left, children were observed periodically looking up at the doorway or toward the outdoors.

After observing mother's behavior and what influences it, the child is able to "infer something of his mother's set-goals and something of the plans she is adopting to achieve them" (Bowlby, 1982, p.267). At this point a child begins to anticipate his mother's departure and begins organizing simple goal-corrected systems of behavior to attempt to delay or inhibit the separation. According to Ainsworth, Bowlby, Sroufe and Waters cited in Schneider-Rosen, (1990), "the set-goal of the attachment behavioral system is not simply maintenance of proximity to the attachment figure. Rather, the set-goal is a degree of 'felt security' for the child, one that promotes exploration and affiliation and reduced fear and wariness" (p.197). This anticipation of the impending separation was observed and heard on the videotapes of Heidi when she attempted to walk out of the classroom when her mother was signing her in and after the first several days when she began to cry before entering the classroom (HV2). It was also seen with Joe's attempt to pull his mother to the block area to play and with his attempt to pull her out the doorway (JV1). Less overt behaviors of Marci and Rick were seen as they stood with their fingers in their mouth as their parents were signing them in and in attempts of conversation as the parents were beginning their leave-taking (MCV2, RoV2). These may be the "goal-corrected attachment plans" which Bowlby (1982) says "can vary in structure from being simple and swiftly executed to being something far more elaborate" (p.350-351).

Attachment to possessions

In infants it is accepted "that certain components of attachment behaviour are sometimes directed towards inanimate objects. Non-nutritive sucking and clinging are examples" (Bowlby, 1982, p.309). Kaplan (1978) suggests that "even after we become adult, some possessions are more alive with dialogue than others. These we count as our personal treasures"(p.38). Heidi and Marci seemed to have no inanimate objects or personal possessions that were important to them at school. Neither ever brought anything to school nor were observed with any object in the classroom that seemed to be a favorite.

Joe brought a blanket to school that he always used at rest time. After further analysis of the videotape (JV1), it seems that the first few days Joe wore a baseball cap and carried a lunchbox which may have been temporary attachment objects. He wouldn't let mother take the hat off at first and put it in the cubby, and he kept carrying the lunchbox from place to place. Finally, he left the lunchbox and went to play in the block area when he seemed more secure. Rick, who was still breastfeeding most of the school year, was extremely attached to his pacifier. He was seen walking to his cubby each morning and putting it away. He had to have it when napping on his cot, and he retrieved it promptly from his cubby on his way home. In the classroom, he was often observed with his fingers in his mouth. Rick was often observed sitting at the manipulative table holding a bag of waffle pieces or Cheerios that he brought from home. He chewed them slowly as he looked around the room. After a period of time and after eating various amounts on different days, he would get up, throw the bag away, and begin an activity. It is plausible that these were more subtle uses of inanimate objects for coping with separation.

The use of the key chain pictures of mother and family as a comfort by all four children was observed at various times throughout the school year. In some instances, the teachers took the child to get the picture, and at other times, the child was observed looking at or carrying the picture around on their own. This is consistent with attachment research and recommendations concerning inanimate objects for infants and toddlers (Kaplan, 1978).

Peer presence and teacher presence

The influence of peer presence or peer attachments in separation distress was not found in the infant and toddler literature. Field (1984) noted that "although young peers are not generally thought to be attached to each other as they are to their mothers," data from several studies of preschoolers "suggest that losing familiar peers, teachers, classroom, and a school routine was a disruptive experience for most of the children" (p.791). In analyzing

the videotape and anecdotal records of Joe, a recurrent theme of play with Mindy when he was not having separation distress was noted (JV3, JA1, JA3). On several occasions when he was exhibiting separation distress behaviors (JA3), Mindy's absence was noted. There are several notations where Joe asked the teachers or his mother where Mindy was toward the end of the school year when she quit attending. A study by Gunnar, Senior and Hartup (1984) found that among preschool children, "the presence of other children fosters exploration of the environment and in some instances, reduces fear and distress" (p.1103). Although it seems other events were often linked to Joe's distress, the influence of the peer relationship for some toddlers is a possibility. This influence of a peer was not observed in any of the other children studied.

Field's (1984) research is consistent with social network theory suggesting that the absence of a teacher is also disruptive to a child because a teacher/caregiver often becomes an alternative attachment figure. As noted earlier, the children often moved near a teacher when a stranger entered the room or another child was distressed. When Joe returned from Taiwan (JV5) he looked around with distress for MsN when she went to the hall to get the children's coats. He then visibly relaxed and went near her when she came back into the room. He wet his pants at naptime and had some distress during a week (JA3) when MsN was out of town. It seems possible that Joe's social network included his teachers and possibly a peer, and that he needed them present to feel secure.

Case Studies

Case studies of four children and their separation behaviors were developed to synthesize the behavior patterns of each of the children . Each case focused on the child's behaviors during their initial entry into the child care program and then followed the events and episodes that occurred throughout the year. The four cases were then compared and analyzed for patterns, commonalties and differences.

Case study of Heidi

Heidi was the youngest in a family of five children. She was independent and stood up for herself. She was tall for her age and had a good vocabulary. She seemed to be an active and daring child. Both parents are professionals, however, this year her mother stayed home with the children. Heidi had two brothers who attended the same child care center, but who were in different classrooms. Heidi attended the center five days a week.

Home visit

Heidi's mother did not believe in home visits so they came to the school for the parent interview and first visit. Her mother said: "she's so different than the boys. She's more clingy with the sitter and me. I kind of want her to go {to school} but she's a 'don't touch me'." (nmi8.94, p.52). Heidi's brothers were in the researcher's classroom the previous two years and had no separation distress.

First week - No. No.

Heidi's behaviors exemplified a "normal" separation pattern (Fisher, 1988) for a 19 month old. Heidi entered the first day holding her mother's hand. After a minute, Heidi walked away from her mother and went to the manipulative table near MsA. Ten minutes later Heidi ran to her mother who smiled as they talked. Heidi went back and forth playing and exploring, then watching and returning to her mother. When other children cried, Heidi returned to her mother briefly with her fingers in her mouth before moving to other areas of the classroom (HV1, p.1-19).

On the second day Heidi's mother stayed and Heidi exhibited much the same pattern until she was expected to put something away. Heidi became angry and went to her mother crying. The teacher returned Heidi to put the toy away and mother remained at a nearby table. Heidi cried and stomped her feet for five minutes before stopping to eat her snack (HV1, p.20).

The following day, Heidi and her mother walked to the sign-in area with Heidi remaining nearby. After several minutes there was audio of Heidi saying "no, no" in a loud protesting voice. After ten minutes when mother said good-bye, Heidi jumped in anger and ran to the door after her. Heidi cried, kicked her feet, refused toys, and walked aimlessly around the room. When carried by a teacher she settled down and observed the room. However if the teacher sat down, Heidi cried and sometimes climbed away. She walked around crying but quieted when picked up again. Her crying continued for an hour although the volume and duration alternated from loud and long to intermittent gasps. (HV1, p.21-25).

Heidi walked in the fourth day without holding her mothers hand. As mother started toward the door and leaned forward to speak to her, Heidi cried and followed mother with her hand in her mouth. As she was picked up by a teacher, Heidi kicked, screamed, and flailed her arms trying to get away before she calmed down. When the teacher put her down, Heidi walked toward the door but when offered, pushed a picture of her mother away. However, she then picked up the picture and looked at it as she whimpered. She cried 30 minutes and then quieted while sitting in the climbing area next to a teacher. She cried a little at diaper changing and said mommy. While outside she spotted her older brother and briefly started to cry (A1, p.1).

On the fifth day Heidi began to cry loudly as her mother picked her up, gave her a hug and said bye. Heidi was crying but not kicking and had her fingers in her mouth when her mother handed her to MsN. Heidi and MsN picked up the key ring picture of mother and begin their procedure of walking to the back door to watch mother drive away. With Heidi on MsN's hip, they watched and waved as mother drove away. After a few minutes at the door they went to sit in housekeeping. Three minutes later Heidi got up from MsN's lap and began to play. (HV2, p.2-3)

The following day, Heidi came in crying. She seemed to anticipate mother's departure. She screamed, but did not kick, as mother left. As MsN held her, Heidi made a slight motion that resembled a wave as mother left. MsN and Heidi walked toward the back door and Heidi stopped crying about half-way back. They waved as mom drove away and Heidi sat in MsN's lap five minutes before getting up to play. The following day, Heidi quietly walked in carrying her jacket with her fingers in her mouth. As mother finished signing her in, Heidi leisurely walked toward the door like she was going to leave the room - again seemingly in anticipation of mother's departure. As mother left, MsN picked Heidi up as she was screaming but again Heidi stopped crying halfway back to the door. They waved as mother left and went to the art table where Heidi stood with her fingers in her mouth. When an adult came in the room, Heidi moved near MsN slightly resting her hand on MsN's leg. While busily playing, Heidi ignored a child who cried much of the morning (HV2, 3-4).

The following day there was audio of Heidi crying as she came down the hall. Heidi stomped and cried intermittently while standing next to her mother as she signed her in. MsN picked Heidi up as mother left and Heidi stopped crying about one-third of the way to the back door. After waving to mother, MsN immediately put Heidi down. Heidi stood and looked around three minutes and went to play on the slide (HV2, p.5)

Second week - Bye-bye

During the second week, Heidi and her mother walked in holding hands with Heidi dragging a little behind but not crying. They walked to the sign in area where Heidi whimpered a little and then cried as mother patted her on the head and said bye. MsN picked her up and Heidi waved to mother. Heidi stopped crying about one-fourth of the way to the back door. There was audio of Heidi saying "bye, bye" as her mother drove away. As Heidi and MsN walked from the door, Heidi pulled her hand away from MsN's

and walked to the slide with her arms swinging at her sides. She then slid down fast with a smile on her face (HV2, p.6).

Again the following week the audio picked up Heidi crying in the hallway with video of MsN carrying Heidi from the door with her fingers in her mouth. Three minutes later, Heidi was seen playing on the climber and then looking out the play door. She was actively playing the rest of the morning (HV2, p.7-9). However, she was often observed walking near MsN or playing in the area near her (HV2, p.8). Another day Heidi walked in slowly with her fingers in her mouth and waved to mom as MsN held her. Waving to her mother at the back door Heidi went straight to the boat to play even though another child was crying.

Fourth week - No problem

During the fourth week of school, Heidi seemed to settle in. She walked in, looked around, hugged her mother bye or looked up from her activity as her mother said good by and continued to play (HV3, p.1-3).

Heidi missed two weeks of school the end of October with the chicken pox. When she returned "she said good-bye to her mom and started playing right away" (A2, p.1). Likewise after the Christmas holidays, she "came in with no problem" (A2, p.1). There was no separation distress incident during the remainder of the school year.

Once Heidi seemed to feel secure, her personality traits of curiosity and playfulness were observed. "NeK walked down the slide, Marci followed, and Heidi smiled as she climbed up. . . . got on top and very carefully and slowly walked down and smiled and. . . . did it with more confidence the third time" (HV2 p.9). She sometimes played by herself and other times played with other children. She is heard (HV5) saying "me, me, me" back and forth with Mindy. Later she was observed with "Rick, Al and MsJ using hand puppets to talk for ten minutes (HV4,p.1). Heidi's assertiveness was documented on video: "Dar reached for her book and Heidi said 'No, I got it' and held on to it" (HV5, p.1). Her

independence was reflected in the following: "Heidi walked from the book area toward the coats and went through the coats on the table and looked around at others standing in the aisle. {She} leaned down and looked around on the floor to find hers. {She}stood up and turned around with a smile saying I've got mine {lip read from video} and showed it to MsA. Heidi (smiling) tried to put the arms in the sleeve and pulled the sleeve up with one arm. . ." (HV4 p.3).

Heidi did not bring any inanimate object of attachment to school. Communication about family life was limited because mother did not believe in sharing information with the school. However, since mother brought Heidi to school daily, and her attendance was regular, there is no indication of any major events that upset the normal schedule in their family life.

Maternal separation anxiety scale

Results of the Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale (Hock et al., 1989) indicated an average score on subscale 1 relating to the mother's level of concern about leaving Heidi. Mother's perception on subscale 2 was that Heidi would adapt fairly easily to the separation. A score a little above average 23 (with 21 being the mid-level) showed that mother saw employment related separation as more stressful. The previous year mother attended law school full time but decided it was too much with the family and withdrew to spend this year at home.

Case Study of Joe

Joe was the younger of two boys in his family. Although he was born in the US, his family was recently from Taiwan and plans to eventually return. Joe was a physical and active child when he was around his family. Joe was tall and exhibited a high energy level and excellent gross motor skills. He was quite observant and watched his environment carefully. Although the home language is Mandarin, Joe's older brother and family speak some English and Joe seems to have some receptive language in English. Joe had never

attended preschool but had recently begun to attend a church nursery with his brother. Joe attended preschool three days a week.

Home visit

In response to the interview question "How do you think you'll feel when you leave him the first week?", Joe's mother replied "Very worried. Not sure - very unsure. Worried that he will cry all the time and he will miss me and I will miss him." (nmi8.94, p.47). She answered the question about how Joe will feel about staying at school with the following: "I think he'll feel mommy doesn't want me {in a 'baby' voice}, 'why you leave me here' and a lot of question - because first time, 'why am I here *alone* {stress on the word alone}'" (nmi8.94, p.48). She also shared that "some of my friends say he's too young to send to school" (nmi8.94, p.48). When asked how she'd feel if he cries when she leaves him, she replied: "I'll feel sad, I will cry, but pretty confident. My two kids different, Joe more brave and he really goes. I have first child and experience first time {he} go to school and I don't feel as bad as that time. I've been through it before. I don't know what the situation will be." (nmi8.94, p.49). Mother's mixed responses indicated some ambivalence. At the home visit Joe and his brother were active and both warmed up to the teachers.

According to his mother, Joe was usually in close proximity to her or another family member (A1, p.3).

First week - Mom is here and I'm OK

Joe had the most separation distress incidents in the class with episodes occurring throughout the school year. Mom carried Joe in the first day and he looked around. He cried four minutes until he realized mother was going to stay. Then he began to play while visually checking on her every 20-30 seconds. If mother moved at all, Joe immediately returned to her and then slowly moved back and forth from her like a yo-yo (JV1, p.1-3). On the second and third days, Joe came in pulling his mother's hand toward the art table.

After seeing other mothers stay, he seemed confident that his mother was going to stay so he left her to play. He continued to check on her regularly. As others entered the room he stopped, looked up, and watched. At one point, Joe was involved in putting post cards into a mail slot when his mother leaned across the table initiating contact with him (JV1, p.4). Whenever another child was distressed, Joe went to look and then returned to his activity. Joe pulled his mother's hand instead of using language to get her to go with him. He interacted freely with the teachers showing and pointing to things inside and outside (JV1, p.4-7).

Ten minutes later as Joe's mother entered the block area and knelt down to tell him she was going, "Joe jumped up and down and got a scrunched face, and did a slight yell" while mom held his hand walking/running toward the door (JV1, p.8). MsN tried to take Joe's hand and "he latched on to mom's front and put his arms around her waist" (JV1, p. 8). Joe kicked while MsN tried to walk with him to the blocks. Joe looked toward the door pulling up his shirt in a nervous motion. He pointed to the door and MsN said "mommy will be back. . . Do you want to go look out the door?" (JV1, p.8). MsN and Joe got trucks and crawled on the floor toward the back door. Joe then went to play in housekeeping. Five minutes later Joe went near another child who was crying, watched her briefly, and returned to play with the stroller (JV1, p.8-9).

The next day, Joe went to the manipulative table and worked a puzzle while his mother signed him in. Mother crouched down and said good-bye. Afterwards, Joe stood looking around and began to work on the key house intently (JV2, p.1). During the first hour the next day, there was a fire drill scheduled by the fire department. Parents were invited to stay because of the noise and possible fears. Five minutes after the fire drill Joe's mother went to him to say good-bye. As she started to get up, he latched on and started to whine. As MsN talked with him he stood quietly looking back and forth to the door. While playing he visually checked on MsN throughout the morning (JV2, p.3).

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Week two - Tears

The following week Joe came in holding his mothers hand. He went to play as his mother put things in his cubby in the hall. He scanned the room after she was gone four minutes and "he showed body language of getting nervous - moving and pulling away from MsA and looking toward the door. Then he started to quietly wrinkle his face and cry" (JV2, p.4). After three to four minutes he cried louder and mother came back in and hugged him. Then "she waved and walked out and he jumped and screamed and threw himself on the floor. MsN went to him and picked him up kicking" and carried him to the playdoor {door from the classroom to the playground} to watch mother leave (JV2, p.5). He continued to cry and when MsN "put him down with her arm around him. . . {he} took {her} arm off and looked. . . put {his} hand to {his} eyes and nose and cried" (JV2, p.5). He wandered around crying five minutes before stopping to watch MsN read a story to another child. MsN handed him his key ring picture of his family and he looked at it. He observed the other children for five minutes and then went to play (JV2, p.5).

The following day, Joe held his mother's hand and tried to pull her out of the room after she signed him in. As mother left Joe cried a moan/cry as he and MsS looked out the playdoor. He moaned intermittently as they waved and watched his mother's car go by. After three minutes he was quiet and stood alone looking around. He carried the key picture of his family around while watching other parents come and go. He did not get involved in play - more wandering with a "lost" look. The next day, Joe pulled his mother into the room. When she said good-bye, MsJ held a quiet Joe at the backdoor. However, when Joe saw his mother's car depart, he started crying for a minute or so before walking around looking sad. Ten minutes later, while looking out the window, MsN waved to Mindy who was arriving in a stroller. Joe watched and then "turned and jauntily walked to the boat. . . . got up and walked to the window and pointed to another squirrel" and played the rest of the day (JV2, p.7-10).

After Joe was sick one day, he cried briefly the next time when mom told him she was leaving. He moaned/cried as he watched mother drive out and then cried a little louder for thirty seconds. For three more minutes MsN carried him and wiped his face and then he rode the play car. He stopped to watch another child cry but returned to his play. The next day of school, the ten year old daughter of the director, spent the morning in the classroom. After standing and looking around for about ten minutes after his mother left, Joe stayed by her most of the morning (JV3, p.1-2).

Unpredictable tears

Joe began crying shortly after his mother left. He seemed to want MsN by him and "patted the chair beside him and got mad if MsN sat one chair away. He pulled away other teachers if they sat beside him" (A1, p.3). This was a similar behavior to one seen with his mother in earlier video at the playdough table (JV1, p.4). Joe cried outside and tried to "pull MsN toward the gate. {He} cried during music and story but part of the time {he} listened to the story and was quiet for a minute or so. {He} cried during lunch and immediately wanted to clean up lunch." (A1, p.3). The researcher spoke with mother who said she always picked Joe up when he cried because she didn't like to hear him cry. It was suggested that mother give him attention when he is not crying and ignore him when he cries to increase positive behaviors (A1, p.3).

The following day Mindy's {a two year old classmate} mother stayed awhile and played with the cardboard blocks. Joe and Mindy played with them for twenty minutes. Later "Joe came up to Mindy and pointed to housekeeping and she said, 'Let's go'" (A1, p.3). They continued playing most of the morning. During Mindy's diaper change, Joe stood by the changing table waiting.

During October, Joe had no separation distress incidents. On November 2, Joe threw up at school and went home. His father brought him in with no difficulty on November 7. However at 9:30 on Nov. 11, Joe started crying and went to the playdoor.

He picked up the picture of mother and carried it around. He walked aimlessly. He "stood and looked sad with tears welling in his eyes" (A2, p.2). After ten minutes, he sat in the rocking chair. Two possible triggers for the behavior were identified. Joe's grandparents, who mother hasn't seen in two years, were arriving the next day from Taiwan for a two month visit. Also, Joe's mother stayed for the school book fair and it is possible he saw her car leave at 9:30. The following Monday, Joe was fine for the first twenty minutes, but he then started a whimpering cry with tears. He stood looking around spending a brief time doing a puzzle, and then "he went to the picture of his mom in the key ring. . . . a few more tears and one or two whimpers - no real crying - more sadness" (A2, p.3). "He stood in front of me with his hands on his shirt tail and cried. . . he built a {block} tower. . . knocked the tower over and sighed" indicating strong emotions (A2, p.4). He seemed to be trying to overcome his loss or sadness, because he kept whimpering and then trying to do something and then the tears would well up in his eyes with an occasional one running down his face. After 45 minutes, he had to go down the hall to the potty and on the way back he "waved, smiled, jumped and said 'Hi'" (A2, p.5) to his brother. Five minutes later he was "playing peek-a-boo with Mindy and MsS under a rug and laughing. He came over to me {MsN} and said some word and 'at school' loudly and pointed to the door saying something that was not understood. Then he said 'here' and he smiled and jumped. He became playful, smiling, twirling around and singing within the next ten minutes" (A2, p.5). Upon reflection, the teachers questioned whether he thought his brother was at home with his grandparents and when he saw him at school, he felt relieved. There were no further separation distress incidents during November or December.

Return from Taiwan

In December Joe went with his family and grandparents to Taiwan for two months. His return in February was videotaped since neither his parents nor the staff knew what to expect.

Joe came in with his father and for the first thirty minutes he seemed fine playing with a truck and the computer with MsN nearby. At 9:00 Joe went to the potty and returned with a damp shirt sleeve. As his shirt was being changed, he began to whimper and "looked outside and pointed to cars" (A2, p.6). About that time Mindy and her mother came in. Mindy ignored him while he was whimpering, but later they played together at the Duplo block table and in the block area for twenty minutes. When Mindy's mother left, "Joe came to me {MsN} and with tears. He played about five minutes and said 'Ma, ma'" (A2, p.6). The following scenario again shows his emotion:

> Mindy tried to sit on a tractor with Joe but he couldn't be redirected {into playing with her}. Joe stood up and cried harder with tears. He said 'mama' and wrung his hands. At 9:50 he went to get the picture of his family. He looked at it and continued to cry. He stood by me and didn't want {to sit} on my lap. He took my hand and wanted me to go somewhere but I said 'I'm here'. He 'paced' by me and cried with the tissue in his hands wringing it. Mindy came up to talk and say 'Hi Ju' but he ignored her. Went to the door, to the picture, and cried more. {He} cried until 10:00. Took him to the bathroom and he cried the whole time. Saw T (his brother) and T hugged him - no words. {He} just kept crying.(A2, p.6-7).

Another video description at a later date also indicated his distress. "Joe sat down and looked up and rubbed {his} tummy, pulling {his} shirt up with an Uhh, uhh, uhh, ahh, {cry}, rubbing {his} eyes and generally distressed and fidgety. MsN talked to him and he didn't seem to pay attention and {he had} constant movement with turning and twisting and looking around." (JV5, p.4). By this time, most in the room ignored his behavior and told him it was time to stop crying and begin playing. After one hour, he began to play in housekeeping and was fine during snack (A2, p.7; JV5, p.5). Joe seemed to shadow MsN during much of the day and after snack when she left the room to get the coats, he looked around and seemed distressed until he saw her return (JV5, p.6). No

explanation was identified for his delayed separation reaction this time. Leaving the room, visiting his sibling, and playing with a peer did not seem to effect the duration of his distress as in the past.

The following two days, Joe's father brought him in without incident. However, when mother picked him up she said "she called dad each morning to see how Joe did because she was worried" (A2, p.7). It is possible Joe reacted to her concern.

Spring - Playful and sad

Within a few days, Joe, Mindy and Dar played together with animals making them "roar" as they moved them toward each other (JV5, p.8). Several days later, Joe came in with his father but he was quieter than usual and played mostly by himself. It was Multicultural Day at school with many parents in the hallway preparing food. While outside, Joe looked into his brother's classroom but we were told his brother was home sick. Joe started to moan/cry when we came inside and continued during music and story. However, when several mothers came in to eat lunch with their children, Joe looked for his mother. When he didn't see her, he quit crying and ate his lunch without further problems (A3, p.4).

The following day, Joe came in slowly with his father and just wandered around. His brother was back at school and Joe said his name in English and spoke more English than usual. After one hour, he quit being an observer and began to play (A3, p.4). The following week, Joe came in and immediately started playing cooperatively with two other children for almost an hour. They were busy in several areas of the room and "Dar was making nonsense sounds, so Joe went and got a cooking pot and put it over his face to make deep sounds. Dar came up to take it. Joe backed up smiling and kept doing it and then gave the pot to Dar" in a playful manner (A3, p.4).

After a week spring break, Joe came in with his father without any problem. Several days later, MsN was out of town and Joe came in and began to cry after two

minutes. He was told MsN would be back on Monday and went to play blocks with another teacher (A3, p.4). In mid April, Joe came in fine and comforted Mindy when she came in crying and hanging on to her mother. At the end of April, Joe was sick one day but came in fine with mother the following day and with his father the next time. Joe wet his pants during nap when MsN was out of the classroom for a week, but he was also on medication. Also during this time, Mindy was not at school and Joe asked where she was. At ten one morning he said "'clean up' and was told it was not time yet. He started to tear up and said 'daddy' about ten times" (A3, p.5). He continued to sniffle and show little interest in any activities. After he returned from the bathroom, he seemed more involved and talkative. The staff realized that his brother's class had gone on a field trip and mother had driven. While outside Joe saw his brother's class return. Even though mother parked in the back so she would not be seen, Joe reacted by standing by the swing with tears making a crying sound. He came in and ate his lunch fast and wanted to get on his cot for nap (A3, p.6). Some days it seemed like Joe tried to get the day to go by faster by hurrying each part.

The following day Joe came in fine, but then was quiet and whiny. He went to the potty but it had no effect. Mindy had not returned to school and MsN was again out of the classroom for several days, but there seemed to be nothing unusual going on at home. It was raining and Joe loudly stated that "I want to go outside" (A3, p.6). After several explanations, Joe began to cry and continued whining "want to go outside". He ate lunch fast, wanted to get on his cot and then he wet his pants during his forty minute rest. Joe's mother said he asked about Mindy at home and that he had been on medication for a week. The next day Joe came in clinging to his father. He went to the door watching cars and families come and go for thirty minutes. Then he cried quietly and looked toward the teachers who were ignoring him. He cried loud and soft intermittently for another thirty minutes when MsN told him it was time to stop crying and begin playing. Joe took MsA's

hand and led her to the art table. After going to the potty, he played for an hour. At 10:20 Joe ran to the playground door crying "Mommy" because he saw his mother's car drive off. She stopped to tell us that they thought Joe had seen his father at school when he dropped something off the other day, and that may be why Joe was crying again. After Joe went to the bathroom checking all the rooms on the way and not seeing his mother, he played. When outside, he giggled and played monsters with several children. At lunch he was talkative and ate at a normal speed (A3, p.8).

The following day, Joe's dad brought him and ten minutes later, Joe got tears in his eyes with a blank sad look. After fifteen minutes, he went to the potty and returned to play. The next time, Joe came in quietly with dad but began to play by mid-morning. Mother said that he again asked about Mindy this weekend. For almost twenty minutes he ran around laughing and playing with several other children: Je, Br and Rick. He ate and slept normally. He continued to use his security blanket at naptime. In the anecdotal record the teachers asked "Has he decided to find new friends and have fun?" (A3, p.9). He has played with Rick throwing bean bags and fabric blocks with vigor and laughter several days during May, although he still asks about Mindy who has not returned to school.

On the last day of school, Joe came in while another child was briefly crying, and he whimpered, moan/cried, and sighed intermittently for thirty minutes. After going to the potty, he started to play and used words (A3, p.10).

Many of Joe's early behaviors were similar to his brother's two years earlier even though the two boys have different temperaments. T, Joe's brother, was easygoing and quiet while Joe was more determined and active around the family. Other than the family visit this year, Joe's home life was quite routine. Joe did things for himself with independence and he was potty trained most of the year. In November 1995, which was after the data collection period, Joe was diagnosed with leukemia. It is unknown if this had any impact on his behaviors at the end of the school year.

Maternal separation anxiety scale

Joe's mother had a score in the higher range for subscale 1 on the Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale. She indicated a moderately high level of guilt, sadness and apprehension at leaving Joe which was consistent with her interview responses. However on subscale 2, responses indicated her perception that Joe would adapt easily to the separation. She did not work and indicated a mid-level concern about separation related to mother's employment.

Case Study of Marci

Marci was an energetic child who entered the early childhood center several days before her second birthday. She had a ready smile and a bubbly, carefree approach to life. She had a good vocabulary. Marci was potty trained early in the school year and attempted to do many things for herself. She interacted with many different children throughout the center. She was comfortable with all of the caregivers and often ran up and hugged them. Both parents worked full time and Marci had been in family child care during the previous year. Her father brought her to school regularly; baby-sitters and relatives picked her up and cared for her from 3:15 to 6 p.m. Her parents wanted her to attend the center daily, but the only available opening was for Tuesday-Thursday attendance. However, during the two months Joe was in Taiwan, Marci attended daily.

Home visit

Marci's parents said it was both of their decision to have Marci attend the program because their older daughter went {to preschool} and "it made a big difference" (nmi8.94, p.8). Her mother said that when they bring Marci the first time "it's going to be emotional. Anytime we've had to leave her with anything [sic] different but I think we'll feel at ease more so than if we were just leaving her with somebody that we don't know" (nmi8.94, p.8). In response to how Marci will react, dad said, "She'll probably feel uncomfortable for about ten minutes" to which mom responded, "if that long" (nmi8.94, p.8). Mom

continued "one part of me says she's not {going to feel uncomfortable} - she's going to walk in like she's been there all of her life. She surprises us a lot about doing that" (nmi8.94, p.8-9).

First week - Hugs

Marci came with mother the first day and reached up her hands toward mom for a hug. Mom then carried her briefly and put her down. Marci talked to MsN while holding the key picture. Several minutes after Marci's mother sat down at the same table, Marci looked toward the other end of the room. MsN stood and held her hand out and Marci followed her to the back of the room with her fingers in her mouth. Marci visually checked on mom and went back and forth playing and talking to or standing near mom like a yo-yo. When another person entered the room, Marci jumped off the climber and returned to be near mom (MCV1, p.15-16).

The next day Marci came in holding her mother's hand while looking around. As her mother walked out of sight, Marci followed her. Mom gave Marci some papers to hand to MsN. When dad came in and crouched down, Marci got on his lap. During the five minutes Marci's mother and father stayed she remained near them. When another child started crying, Marci looked at her. Dad crouched down to say good-bye and Marci waved and ran to mom and gave her a hug. They said "love you" and kissed her. She waved and put her fingers in her mouth and then ran toward the door. Marci cried briefly and MsN picked her up and told her she would go home after her nap. They looked at pictures at the chalkboard and Marci went to play on the climber. She walked around with her fingers in her mouth and every few minutes showed something or said something to MsN or one of the other teachers. After several minutes, Marci seemed to test our limits by throwing a car and watching for a reaction. She spent most of the day observing the other children, going near them and then looking toward the teachers (MCV2, p.1-3).

From then on when Marci came in with her father, she went to play. On his way out he stopped to kiss her and told her good-bye. She looked up, smiled and continued to play. However, when another child cried, she often put her fingers in her mouth and briefly stood near a teacher watching the child before returning to play (MCV2; MCV3).

Later - I want daddy

In mid November, Marci "hung back at the door holding on to dad's hand" but then came in and played with the wooden barn (MCA2, p.8). According to the anecdotal records (MCA2, p.8), Marci's mother, who was eight months pregnant, lost the baby. The aunt, who brought Marci to school, said the family was quite upset. Marci had been kept by friends for several days. The following week Marci was back to her normal separation routine and normal activities.

After the Christmas holiday break, Marci came in with no problem and, in fact, started attending daily. On Jan. 24 an anecdotal entry noted (MCA2, p.8) Marci had a hard time letting dad leave. MsN read her a story and her crying was soothed. It was also noted that MsA had noticed Marci being hesitant about coming in for several days. According to dad, he had no idea why. One week later Marci broke out with chicken pox at school (MCA2, p.8). It is not known if there was any connection.

In mid February Marci came in half crying {between a real cry and a whimper} and holding on to dad. After he signed her in she started to play normally. An anecdotal record on Feb. 23 (MCA2, p.8) noted that Uncle R picked Marci up this week. He had not picked her up from school since last fall when, according to the anecdotal records, their interactions were not considered positive and cooperative. Also, Joe returned this week, which meant Marci's attendance changed from daily to Tuesday and Thursday only. She had another child care provider the remaining days of the week. On March 28, "Marci came in quietly but OK, Dad told her Uncle R and {someone else} would pick her up. She said she wanted dad to pick her up" (MCA3, p.11). Two weeks later, "Marci stopped at the

door and hung onto dad. He said to come on in and he went to sign her in. She cried and said 'I want daddy'. . . . She stood in the doorway with her head down and whimpered and rubbed her eyes. Dad said he would go and bye bye. Marci cried a few minutes and said she wanted daddy" (MCA3, p.11). Within a few minutes she got interested in the blocks and was fine for the rest of the month. Then in early May, Marci hung on to daddy and didn't want him to leave. He "gave her sugar" and walked her to the housekeeping area where she played. Again, she was fine singing and playing regularly the rest of the year (MCA3, p.11). According to informal conversations with her parents, there were some disruptions in her afternoon child care during the second half of the school year, and there were different people picking her up from school. Although the staff were unable to pinpoint the exact times with her separation distress, most of her separation incidents occurred after she had attended school on a daily basis and returned to part -time attendance.

Maternal separation anxiety scale

Marci's mother had a moderately high subscale score on the Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale, related to her guilt, sadness and depression about leaving Marci. Her low score in subscale 2 indicated that she anticipated few separation adaptation problems and an easy school entry for Marci. According to her subscale 3 score, Marci's mother, who was employed full time, found separation due to employment moderately stressful.

Case Study of Rick

Rick was a serious and quiet child with a long attention span. He often focused on one activity for one hour or more (RA2, p.9). He enjoyed talking to adults and interacting with the caregivers and adults who were in the classroom. Rick, who was 28 months and the same age as Joe, had attended a preschool program the previous year in another state. He had two older siblings who were articulate and outgoing children. By contrast, Rick was the "baby" of the family. He was still breastfeeding during most of the school year. He

constantly used a pacifier during the time away from school. Due to health considerations, it was agreed that Rick would only have the pacifier at school when napping on his cot.

Home visit

The teacher was unable to do a home visit because the family arrived from another state and moved into temporary housing just a few days before school began. There was an informal telephone conversation with Rick's mother who was looking forward to her son's entry into the program.

First week - fingers in his mouth

Rick had his fingers in his mouth when he and his mother walked in the first day. "Mom pulled out a chair for Rick and he moved over and sat on it" (RV1, p.12). As he played with a puzzle, Rick regularly turned to his mother to show her puzzle pieces and to talk with her. He got his mother's attention by holding a puzzle piece up in front of her face (RV1, p.12). During the next three weeks, Rick entered the classroom with his mother or father quietly and often with his fingers in his mouth. They said or waved good bye to him and he barely acknowledged them as he was usually concentrating on an activity at the manipulative or art table. However, one morning in the fourth week of school, Rick cried momentarily when dad left (RA1, p.12). When other children cried, Rick didn't seem to notice and did not look their way (RV1; RV2).

Silent antics

Rick was often observed sitting quietly and watching other children or the teachers until an adult came near him and then he became involved in the activity (RV2, p.4). When he wanted a teacher's attention, he held something up in front of them. On one occasion when MsN was talking to someone, he jumped, crawled, twisted and did a variety of body antics in front of her and then he sat, looked and waited for her attention. He then tried again, and although he had excellent language skills, he did not use them initially to get the

teacher's attention (RV3, p.4). Since Rick's entry seemed to be without distress, most of the anecdotal records referred to his cognitive abilities and long concentration (RA 1, p.12).

Steady behaviors

During October, mother quit nursing Rick during the night. No outward signs of distress were observed (RA2, p.9). In late fall, mom found out she was pregnant, but again, Rick showed no different behaviors.

After the Christmas break, Rick came into the classroom without any problems. However, during the second week back, Rick came in clinging to his mother. Dad had been bringing him in since Christmas and mom said it was because she had an amniocentesis because of a concern about a genetic problem. The parents were quite worried. The following week they moved to a new house and soon afterwards, the grandparents arrived for a visit. Rick's behavior remained consistent. He was quiet and continued to act more comfortable with adults than with the other children (RA2, p.9-10).

Later - Slight separation distress

After Rick's return from a two week vacation, he was a little clingy. He whimpered and cried briefly when his dad left. When taken to look out the playdoor {the glass door from the classroom to the outside play area}, Rick soon discussed the clouds and was smiling as he went to finish his breakfast waffle at the manipulative table. The parents later shared that Rick had quit breastfeeding that week, they had to wake him to bring him to school that morning, and the family had kept a kindergarten child overnight while his mother was in the hospital with toxemia. It seemed any one of the events, or the combination of the events, caused some disruption in Rick's life and were a possible influence for his slight separation distress behaviors (RA2, p.10).

There were no other incidents during the year even though his dad traveled extensively. However, on the last day of school, Rick came in with his mother, brother and grandfather and clung to his mother and kept wanting hugs. After several hugs, they left

and Rick was fine. His mother reported that she had gone into pre-labor while their father was out of town and the three children spent five hours in a doctor's waiting room while she was being treated. Within thirty minutes after Rick entered the room he was pushing the wooden boat with three children as passengers, and then "leaped from the top of the slide" (RA3, p.13).

During the school year, Rick became more active and outgoing as evidenced in the May video where he is throwing bean bags to the ceiling and participating with four other children in a fabric block "pillow fight" (RV6, p.1). However, he continued to use his pacifier at naptime and when leaving the classroom to go home, he immediately put it in his mouth. He was still not potty trained at the end of the school year even after turning three (RA3, p.14).

Maternal separation anxiety scale

Rick's mother's subscale 1 on the Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale was at the mid-level indicating average concern about leaving Rick. The subscale 2 score was low which reflected her perception that Rick would adapt to the separation easily. Although she only worked part time, her rating of subscale 3 indicated high stress and concern related to maternal employment.

Findings and Discussion

Each toddler in the study exhibited some overt separation distress behavior during the school year even with an entry process implemented to reduce the stress of separation. However, the persistence and intensity of the episodes, as well as the possible influences setting off the behavior, differed among the children studied. For Heidi, the separation distress observed occurred only at the beginning of the school year, but for Rick, Joe, and Marci there were incidents throughout the year. Parent-child interaction patterns observed at the home visit or later in the classroom often alerted the caregivers to potential separation incidents. Unusual family events and the child's overt separation distress behaviors often

occurred together. However, the seriousness of the event and the impact on the child's separation behavior differed among the children.

The entry protocol and consistent caregiver responses to the overt separation behaviors seemed to reduce the intensity and length of most of the episodes as expected. For Joe, responses which were effective during one episode were not successful during another incident, so again, there was variation within the overall pattern. Within the classroom community, the impact of the teacher's and possibly a particular peer's presence on a child's separation distress behaviors was observed in the children studied.

The Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale results were not consistent with the children's overt behaviors in this study.

Intensity and duration of separation distress

Joe, Heidi, Marci, and Rick exhibited a wide range of separation behaviors consistent with the other eighteen toddlers in the early childhood program. Heidi exhibited immediate and intense separation anxiety distress behaviors at the beginning of the year which might be considered classic separation distress. The first few days she cried and screamed loudly while she involved her whole body in an angry display of distress. As time passed, Heidi's behaviors were less intense and of shorter duration until she entered without distress behaviors. Marci and Rick exhibited quieter behaviors such as putting their fingers in their mouth and holding a parent's hand at the beginning of the year. Several times later in the year, Marci and Rick asked their parent to stay and seemed sad for a short time, but never exhibited any intense overt separation behaviors. Joe's behaviors were often quiet such as whimpering with a sad look on his face. Joe, on the other hand, had immediate distress at the beginning of school, followed by a period of calm. He then had unpredictable episodes of separation distress throughout the year.

Bowlby (1982) concurs with Jorde's (1984) statement that separation distress behaviors are individually manifested by toddlers regularly attending an early childhood

program ranging from a "momentary lapse of sadness" to a complete "falling apart" (p.17). Some children seem to display less overt behaviors in a phase Bowlby (1982) refers to as despair. Low-keyedness is used by Bailey (1988) to describe a child focusing inward, appearing withdrawn and staring off into space. According to Kaplan (1978) "in his gesture of turning away from the outer world to re-create an inner world he can depend on, a baby is managing loss with a competence that should be respected" (p.179). Since few studies have been conducted concerning toddlers and less overt separation behaviors, it is unknown whether this is a coping mechanism, an indication of temperament, or a manifestation of despair and loneliness. Rick was often seen sitting and staring off into space until approached by a teacher, especially at the beginning of the year (RV1; RV2). Because the quiet behaviors were not identified as possible separation distress at the time, there was no follow up concerning unusual family events to clarify the behaviors.

The Robertsons and others (Bowlby, 1973) state that "the sequence of *intense* protest, followed by despair and detachment. . . is due to a combination of factors, of which the kernel is the conjunction of strange people, strange events, and an absence [inaccessible] of mothering either from mother herself or from a capable substitute" (p.22). It seems from this study that the separation distress behaviors may not always be in a sequence. Although the different behaviors may actually be individual ways of manifesting separation distress; it does seem that the combination of strange people, places and events influences separation distress in toddlers.

Parent-child interactions and child temperament

The parent-child interactions observed at the home visit or pre-visit (Heidi's was held at the school) as well as the child's temperament seemed to give the teachers clues to possible separation distress and behaviors. Information about the parental expectations and the child's past experience also alerted the teachers to an increased risk of separation distress. Joe and Heidi's mothers indicated concern about their child's behavior upon

separation in the interviews (nmi8.94), whereas, Marci's parents were confident about her attendance. Marci was active and moving around the rooms during the home visit (nmi8.94), which was consistent with her parents' expectations. Joe and Heidi remained near their mothers during the visits. Joe and Heidi were both seen to be observant to environmental clues and actually anticipate their mothers' departures after attending school several days (HV2; JV2).

All four children studied remained near their parent during the initial home and school visit. Once they felt more secure, they explored further away from their parent while frequently checking on their proximity to the parent. Studies of David and Appell cited in Bowlby (1982) compare mother-child patterns of interaction noting the habitual quantity of interaction in terms of percentage of waking time mother and child are interacting, the lengths of their interactions, who initiates and who terminates the interactions, their mode of interaction (visual, touching), the typical distances between them, the child's reaction to a stranger when with mother or without, the mother's reaction to the child's exploration and the child's reaction to separation. According to Joe's mother (JA1), she and Joe maintain close proximity even at home. Analysis revealed examples of close proximity, constant visual and tactile contact, and interactions initiated by both on a regular basis in the classroom. The influence of culture on this behavior is quite possible. In Chinese culture "a mother is likely to remain very near her infant" (Bowlby, 1982, p.241) in a manner similar to Bowlby's description of interactions in primitive cultures. According to Seng and Betts (1993), "the young Chinese child will not be expected to be independent as early as his/her British counterpart" (p.2). In my personal experience with six or seven overseas Chinese toddlers, about half of them have had severe separation distress while several have had none. The mother-child interactions with the other three children studied seemed to be less intense and less frequent (HV1; MCV1; RoV1).

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The Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale (Hock, McBride, & Gnezda, 1989) results were not consistent with the child's observed behaviors in the four cases studied. Although Marci's and Joe's mothers' scores relating to their anxiety about and their perception of their child's entry experience were similar, the children's separation experiences were very different. The scale was developed for use with mother's of younger children and is usually administered before the separation experience. Since the scale was administered after the separation experience, the results were expected to more closely reflect the child's actual experience. However, according to Hock et al. (1989) maternal concerns about separation is a "complex, multidimensional, multidetermined construct" (p.794). It is possible that the mothers coped with the stress of separation in a variety of ways, and the effects on the child were also complex and multidimensional.

Marci and Rick had attended child care or family day care during the previous year and had experienced regular separation from their parents. Heidi had remained at home with a regular baby-sitter the previous year. Joe had rarely been left with any caregiver outside the family. He and his sibling had recently attended a church preschool. Past experience may have influenced the early behaviors of Marci and Rick. Heidi and Joe both had early separation distress which may be attributed to their lack of experience. Because the duration, intensity and frequency of their behaviors were very different, it is probable that other factors were also influencing the distress behaviors.

According to Gunnar et al. (1992), infant temperament can also be a factor in predicting the child's distress in separation. Ainsworth and Wittig, as cited in Fish and Belsky (1991), are in agreement that "individual differences in distress over separation have most often been attributed to temperament, and considerable evidence of a temperamental basis for such distress in infancy has emerged" (p.418). However, Vaughn, Lefever, Seifer, and Barglow (1989) make the following distinction: there seems to be a relationship between temperament and separation distress, but not between temperament

and attachment classification. Fein (1995) suggests that "according to a strong temperament explanation, some infants are predisposed to particular adjustment difficulties. These difficulties will appear even in high-quality child care settings with sensitive and responsive caregivers" (p.272-3). Heidi and Joe were described by classroom teachers and by their parents as being willful or stubborn (nmi8.94; HV4; JA3) . Marci and Rick were described as being more easy going and seemed to use more personal comforting skills such as chewing on their fingers and unobtrusively watching the situation (MCV3; RV3).

The parent-child interaction, especially the need to maintain proximity by both the parent and the child, seemed to influence Joe's separation distress. The other three children followed a more typical pattern of remaining near the parent in the beginning and moving away little by little as the time passed. Three (Heidi, Marci, Joe) were observed returning to a parent or a teacher when someone new entered the room or another child seemed upset. Previous experience may have been a factor in Marci's and Rick's lack of overt distress behaviors at the beginning of the year. Temperament differences seemed to influence the separation distress behaviors in this study as noted earlier by Vaughn, Lefever, Seifer, and Barglow.

Social referencing and the control theory of attachment seem to relate to these findings concerning parent-child interactions and temperament on separation distress behaviors.

Separation distress links to home/family/life events

The research question focused on the home/family/life events that may trigger or influence a child's separation distress behaviors. In previous toddler classes it seemed that a family event, such as a parent traveling or grandparents visiting, had often occurred near the time a child displayed separation distress. During the study, several of Joe's separation distress episodes could be related to either his brother being absent, his grandparents visit from Taiwan, or his return after two months in Taiwan. However, many of his other

episodes seemed to be triggered by seeing his mother's car leave the parking lot after staying for a school book fair or driving on a field trip for his sibling. For Joe it seemed that any slight variation in his life affected his separation. On the other hand, Rick's family had a number of stressful events including two moves, a pregnancy with a possible problem, and a father traveling. Rick showed no overt behavior during many of these family crises and hung back and only cried briefly on a couple of occasions all year. Marci showed some distressed behavior when her mother lost the baby and after she attended school full time and then returned to part-time attendance with a new after school child care arrangement. These events seemed to affect her directly. After the initial separation distress, Heidi never showed any overt separation behaviors during the school year. Since her mother was reluctant to share information about family life, it is unknown whether there were any major family events. Since Heidi and her brothers attended school regularly with mother always picking them up, it is possible that no major family events occurred.

Systems theory and family systems theory help address the complex interactions components of society which have an impact on an individual and their behaviors. Toddlers who are in regular child care are affected by the family, neighborhood, school and various other systems that very young children were more isolated from in the past.

Entry process

A deliberate change was made in the entry process for the toddler class. The new procedure included a home visit, part-day experience with parent, and a gradual entry into the toddler program at the early childhood center. Overt separation distress behaviors decreased in number and intensity from previous years. This is congruent with findings and recommendations throughout the literature (Balaban, 1985; Fein, 1995; Jervis, 1984; Jorde, 1984; Wittmer, 1992). Since children seem to be influenced when others are upset and crying, separation distress behaviors are often referred to as "catching" by toddler teachers. In this study three of the children often watched a child who was crying and then

went near their mother or a teacher before returning to play (MCV2, p.1; JV1, p.9; HV1, p.19). This behavior and the "yo-yo" process of a child leaving the parent and going to play with frequent visual contact followed by declining contact when more comfortable is considered part of a normal separation process (Bailey, 1988; Bowlby, 1982; Fein, 1995; Kaplan, 1978; and Greenberg, Cicchetti & Cummings, 1990). With fewer separation distress incidents the transition into the child care program is easier for all of the children, the parents, and the caregivers. Children and parents feel more secure and less anxious when there are fewer and less intense separation distress behaviors. Caregivers are then able to spend quiet time with the children and help them feel more comfortable as they separate from their parent.

Planned caregiver responses

Planned caregiver responses that became an expected ritual seemed to lessen the intensity and duration of the separation stress for Heidi and possibly for Joe. After having Heidi go to the backdoor and wave good-bye to her mother, her crying and distress lessened each day until it disappeared (HA1; HV2; and HV3). A study by Robertson and Robertson cited in Bowlby (1973) found that there was less separation distress behavior when children had consistent and quality care. Balaban (1985), Castle (1990), Jervis (1984), and Wittmer (1992) recommended specific teacher behaviors that included allowing a child to watch the parent leave. Research with infants by Raikes (1993) found that "when infants are allowed to develop a relationship over time with a teacher the infant-teacher relationship becomes more defined, predictable, and functional in creating a secure base for the infant" (p.321). Another study also with infants, found that the "stress of separation in human infants can be manipulated by altering caregiver behavior" (Gunnar, Larson, Hertsgaard, Harris and Broderson, 1992, p.302). It is reasonable to expect that caregiver behavior would also be a valid factor in separation stress for toddlers.

Emotional refueling and hurry up

There were two observations, both related to Joe, that were puzzling. During the course of the year as the staff tried to analyze Joe's behaviors, several teachers noticed a possible pattern and then began to enter similar incidents in the anecdotal records(JA3). There were several times when Joe was crying or seemed to be quiet and lonely during the morning but after leaving the room to go to the bathroom, he returned and actively joined class activities. On two occasions, he looked into the rooms along the hallway. It was presumed that he was looking for his brother or was checking to be sure mother was gone. However, on other occasions, it seemed the break allowed him the opportunity for "a little emotional refueling" (Kaplan, 1978, p.180) before returning to "business as usual".

On several other occasions when Joe was distressed for much of the day, anecdotal entries indicate that he wanted to clean up early, he wanted to go outside early, he ate his lunch fast, he wanted to get on his cot quickly and he would sleep about 20 minutes instead of his normal 60 minutes. It seemed like he wanted to make the day end faster (JA1, JA3). No plausible theories or explanations for these observations have been identified.

Summary of conclusions

The four children studied exhibited individual overt separation distress behaviors which varied in duration, intensity and frequency. Their past experiences may have been a factor in the initial overt separation behaviors at the beginning of the year. The one child who maintained the closest proximity to his mother at home had the most frequent separation distress. Clues from the parent-child interaction and interview at the home visit alerted the teachers to potential separation behavior distress in two of the children. The mother's score on the Maternal Separation Anxiety Scale did not seem to reflect the child's actual separation experience. The child's temperament seemed to be a factor in separation distress for the toddlers studied. Social referencing and the control theory of attachment provide plausible theoretical perspectives for these findings.

Family events seemed to influence many of the separation distress behaviors observed later in the school year. General systems and family systems theory provide a framework for the patterns found in the case studies of Heidi, Joe, Marci and Rick. Events which had a direct impact on the child such as Marci's change in child care schedule and Rick's five hour experience at the doctor's office seemed to trigger at least minor separation distress. For Joe even minor changes in routine, seemed to affect his separation behaviors.

The entry process and the caregiver responses to the child's behavior seemed to lessen the frequency, intensity and duration of some separation distress. The potential importance of consistency in the caregiving staff and in the peer group for a child's security was observed in one of the toddlers studied. Peer presence and teacher/caregiver stability on toddler separation distress has not been studied. Therefore, theories related to toddlers and their peers were not found in the current literature.

Implications for Educators

This study further reinforces the recommendation of most toddler teachers that a gradual entry process is essential. An entry process, including a home visit and a gradual entry into the program, will not prevent all separation distress behaviors, but it seems to ameliorate some overt distress. Entry "ritual" and patterns by the parents and by the caregivers are also recommended. Sometimes, a child needs to refuel emotionally and walking with the child to a door to wave, or sitting to read a story, may provide this opportunity. The ritual may include bringing a "lovey" or some special object to school. This seems to help a child develop a sense of security and a subsystem of alternate attachment figures which may include a teacher or an inanimate object. An awareness that all separation distress is not observable from overt behaviors is needed. Children often exhibit a low-keyedness as a separation distress behavior. These less overt separation behaviors should be further explored. It is also important for educators to realize that attachment relationships are lifelong and that the major difference is in the "nature of the

circumstances that elicit attachment behaviors" (Schneider-Rosen, 1990) and the intensity and duration of the behaviors.

The parent-child interactions, temperament and past experiences all reinforce the use of family systems theory in understanding the complex, multi-dimensional aspects of separation behaviors. The importance of family-school communication when families are going through self-regulating and self-organizing experiences to help understand the child's distress is obvious. According to Seng and Betts (1993) "it is vital that a teacher should become familiar with possible stressors which may affect children so that they may be able to implement beneficial interventions" (p.3). The experiences the child has in coping with separation reinforce their abilities to organize goal-corrected plans in attempting to maintain their emotional equilibrium throughout the lifespan.

A second important reason for home-school communication is to help the parent feel more comfortable with the early childhood center. The emotions and conversations of the parents about school can affect the child's security and separation anxiety since it is now believed that toddlers have begun social referencing. Understanding and respecting the parents' ambivalence and guilt is helpful to the parent and the child.

Implications for educators regarding the toddler's relationships with teachers and peers (which includes siblings) are most important for toddler programs where children are often moved from classroom to classroom according to age intervals. The possibilities that peer and teacher relationships are crucial for children in a modern and stressful society should be considered. As a result, more multi-age classrooms with teachers and children remaining together as a group should be a common program goal.

Future research

For the past ten years researchers have been calling for studies of attachment beyond infancy that incorporate the family systems approach and are conducted in multiple naturalistic settings (Cicchetti, Cummings, Greenberg & Marvin, 1990). There is still a

need for this and for studies that focus on overt and low-keyed separation distress behaviors. Further investigation of the influences of family/home/life events on separation distress episodes is needed. Why some children seem to be affected by any small disruption while others seem to exhibit no overt signs of separation distress during a family crisis needs further study. What influences some children to seemingly pick up on subtle cues through social referencing while others seemingly are influenced only when directly affected?

The possible influences of sibling and peer relationships in this study should be further investigated. With many families of fewer children, both parents working and no extended family, information is need about which social networks affect separation behaviors in toddlers.

Since Joe had the most obvious separation distress, further research is needed on language and cultural influences. The cultural implications which include second language issues are enormous for all areas related to attachment and separation distress. Hartman's (1989) case study of a Chinese-American toddler in a laboratory preschool revealed a separation pattern remarkably similar to Joe's. Joe's older sibling had separation difficulties in the researcher's classroom two years ago. Because the boys seem to have different temperaments, the question of whether cultural influences, parent-child interactions, language, or a combination of the factors affects the separation distress needs to be studied.

A multi-method research design is recommended for study of toddlers in naturalistic settings. The use of the remote video camera allowed for a more natural classroom experience and would be recommended for other studies.

This researcher agrees with Browning and Hatch (1995) that there is an overall need for more early childhood education researchers to conduct qualitative studies especially at the toddler level. Most researchers have skipped from infants to preschoolers leaving a void in toddler research findings. Those few studies focusing on toddlers have

often been conducted by linguists, psychologists and medical professionals with few conducted by early childhood professionals. With more and more toddlers in group care, there is a great need for research in a naturalistic setting with a systems perspective.

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Appendix A

Parent Interview Questions

1. Did you attend a preschool?
2. If you can remember or if you have been told, what was that experience like for you?
3. Why did you decide to send your child to school?
4. Was it your idea to send your child to preschool?
5. Has your child been to another preschool or child care center?
6. What have you told him/her about school?
7. How do you think you'll feel when you leave him/her the first day/week?
8. How do you think he/she will feel?
9. How do you think you will feel if you being him/her to school and he/she cries?
10. Who will be primarily responsible for getting your child to school?
11. Will his/her going to school cause any problems or inconveniences?
12. What are your expectations for your child for the year?

Appendix B

Observtional References

HV1	Chronological log of Heidi from first week of school videotape - August 1994
JV1	Chronological log of Joe from first week of school videotape - August 1994
MCV1	Chronological log of Marci from first week of school videotape - August 1994
RV1	Chronological log of Rick from first week of school videotape - August 1994
HV2	Chronological log of Heidi from videotape of second and third week of school - September 1994
JV2	Chronological log of Joe from videotape of second and third week of school September 1994
MCV2	Chronological log of Marci from videotape of second and third week of school - September 1994
RV2	Chronological log of Rick from videotape of second and third week of school - September 1994
HV3	Chronological log of Heidi from videotape of week 4 - September 19-23, 1994
JV3	Chronological log of Joe from videotape of week 4 - September 19-23, 1994
MCV3	Chronological log of Marci from videotape of week 4 - September 19-23, 1994
RV3	Chronological log of Rick from videotape of week 4 - September 19-23, 1994

HV4	Chronological log of Heidi from videotape - December 1994
JV4	Chronological log of Joe from videotape - December 1994
MCV4	Chronological log of Marci from videotape - December 1994
RV4	Chronological log of Rick from videotape - December 1994
HV5	Chronological log of Heidi from videotape - February 17-20, 1995
JV5	Chronological log of Joe from videotape - February 17-20, 1995
MCV5	Chronological log of Marci from videotape - February 17-20, 1995
RV5	Chronological log of Rick from videotape - February 17-20, 1995
HV6	Chronological log of Heidi from videotape - May 1995
JV6	Chronological log of Joe from videotape - May 1995
RV6	Chronological log of Rick from videotape - May 1995
A1	Computer copies of anecdotal records September-October 1994
A2	Computer copies of anecdotal records - October, 1994-February, 1995
A3	Computer copies of anecdotal records - February - May 1995
nmi8.94	Transcribed audiotapes of parent interviews - August 1994